/459 cont./

621 perhaps one should distinguish between the different relations,
592 some of which, for example, that of exogamous marriage, might
614 have had a positive origin, and the others might be of consuetudinary origin.

Even in small groups, although perfectly and smoothly harmonized, the distinction of social assemblages, with their duties, their characteristic attributes, their peculiar directives, is easily perceptible. In each local group we can distinguish four categories of individuals: 1st, the tuxáua; 2nd, the Komũã (elders); 3rd, the men (more or less scaled by their ages and experience); 4th, the women and children.

These different categories, however, are closely connected to one another by unifying and stabilizing principles: 1st, a common house, the regime of the maloca, which, at least in the beginning, was in force as a general norm and without exception; 2nd, the provisions in common: a custom that is maintained in the maloca regime and, in a more attenuated way, also in the povoado system; 3rd, the common inheritance of the maloca, of zones for fishing and hunting, and of everything that is the property of the group; 4th, the fear of the spirits, with great unitive power, corresponding to the native mentality; 5th, vengeance, which the group will exercise against the one suspected of having caused the death of one of its members.

A further word about the first two categories of individuals is advisable.

c) "Bũxkõrá-kurá" -- (Council of elders).

622 Watching over the observance of the customs and the feasts is
623 a Council of elders, the Bũxkõrá-kurá (called Moacaretá in Nheengatú). It is made up of the Tuxaua, who is its hereditary president and also speaker and executor of its decisions, the Pajé, and two or three more /460/ men of greater ascendancy. These men are the Komũã (pl. of Komũ), as the natives express themselves, whom we saw appear (VII - 2, e (3)) as "initiates" and, up to a certain point, helping the pajé.

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623 "The elders desire it this way" is an expression that is frequently heard when one asks the native the reason for some practice that causes us surprise. This expression is the manifestation of an impersonal will (the name of some of the components, as responsible for the decision, is never revealed), which is always
*[192] respected. This term "elder," "Bũxkõ," applied to the Komũã, is indicative of authority rather than of age, because one sees individuals of perhaps 30 years of age or a little more making up part of the Council.

*[192] The Council acts as electoral college of the Tuxaua, Wyõra bexsesé, and as a tribunal which passes judgment on the omissions and transgressions of the customs.

[115] Vice versa, as follows from the Tukano narrator Antônio Barreto, the choice of the members of the Council falls to the Tuxaua. The zeal of someone from the maloca with regard to the interests of the group, his love for the traditions, his facility in remembering them, are, it seems, the qualities required to be admitted among the Komũã. It is nevertheless necessary for him to be presented by some member of the council, perhaps the candidate's father himself. His admission, however, depends on the favorable opinion of the Council, after the candidate has given proofs of his aptitude, for example, repeating the legends of the tribe, or the songs of the dances, or showing the efficacy of his "blowings." For this a prolonged course at the school of the old Komũã has been necessary, as we saw above (VII - 2, e (3)).

The title of Komũã is a lifelong one and procures for them the
[756] respect of their contributors. The Komũã, moreover, practice their
[755] activities as "blowers," especially at the delivery and at the giving of the names, as instructors at the puberty rites, and as helpers of the Pajé in treating the sick. The meetings are frequent. The
[115] Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos assured us that sometimes they meet almost every night.

/465 cont./

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[115]

Rules establishing the succession of the tuxaua or his choice are not known. The only strict norm would perhaps be the observance of the hierarchy of the subdivisions in the povoados in which there are families belonging to various subtribes (IV 2, a (2)), according to the information by Patrícia Vasconcelos and Antônio Barreto. The democratic-aristocratic spirit of these small groups demands this. A very natural process, with such a spirit, is the succession of the father by the son, especially the first-born, a process which is verified in the greater frequency of the cases. This event was determined by the ascendancy, perhaps great, of the father, as well as the circumstance that the son, while the father was alive, often helped him or replaced him on many occasions.

The recognized ascendancy, the personal qualities, and among them regard for the traditions and respect for the authorities, are what point to the son as a candidate. Or, in the absence or the lack of aptitude of the latter, anyone else, preferably from the family of the deceased Tuxaua.

Violation of the old customs and disobedience toward the father have not infrequently been the cause of passing over some young man, otherwise well qualified, to succeed his own father in the office of tuxaua.

[623]

Such a choice is one of the principal functions of the council of Elders, the Bũxkõrá-Kurá (99),

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> 99. On the occasion of the death of the Tukano tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira, Julio Silgueira, on July 5, 1954, the Council of elders remained for three days deliberating on the qualities and merits of Mandu, the eldest son of the deceased chief, before recognizing him as the successor.

according to the information obtained from some tuxauas (Júlio, Tukano of Pari-cachoeira; Henrique Resende, Tuyuka of the Iaísa igarapé; Fernando, Yurupari of S. Ana on the river Içana; Mandú, Kumãdene of Urubucuara; José, Huhúdeni of Uapuim-cachoeira on the river Aiarí).

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622 f) Government and justice.

Even in olden times the tuxaua's power was tempered by the power of the heads of each family, which, as we said, is autonomous regarding its normal life, its trading, its clearing, etc.

622 It was, likewise, moderated by the ascendancy of the Komtã,
623 the "Elders," who still today preside over the dances, take part in the giving of the name to the child, in the initiation of the young men, practice the "blowing," etc. The "Elders" constituted a true Council or Senate of the Tuxaua, the Bũxkẽrã-kurã; and even today continue with such function and choose the new tuxaua.

622 The absolute chiefs have always been an exception, which sometimes provoked reaction by his subordinates (102).

[159] [648]

102. José, Tukano tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira, died poisoned by those of his maloca; properly speaking, by his second wife, a Tuyuka, with the connivance of the other inhabitants of the maloca. During the time of the encarregado dos índios /Indian Agent/ Higino Albuquerque, of the SPI, José exercised in truth a despotic power: he forced the Indians to work for some of the civilized, thrashed the women so that they would make the flour more quickly, etc.

797 Among all the tribes of the Uaupés a democratic regime has always
622 been in force. It is remembered, however, that some tuxauas, in
648 contracting for service with the whites, -- one of the functions of the tuxauaship, -- demanded payment without work, or even keeping almost everything for themselves and distributing little to the others, so that the natives came to ask the Missionary to make the distribution of the payment to them himself.

627 The administration of justice, in the strict sense, does not fall to the tuxaua. There is not even a judiciary or customary penal Law. The questions that arise among the components of the group are resolved among them under the dictates of reciprocal vengeance

627 /466 cont./

[623] or fear. The tuxaua, nevertheless, frequently acted as an arbiter, reprimanding the guilty ones, threatening them, imposing on them restitution of the object stolen or an indemnity, and, as maximum punishment, expelling the undesirables from the maloca; always, however, in accordance with the Komũã components of the

[681] Bũxkõrá-kurá. They have never known the penalty of prison /467/ or corporal punishment. It should be kept in mind that with their type of life, and with the native mentality, innumerable cases that fill our penal codes do not arise.

g) Associations.

797 857 In the Mission schools it is observed that, although the various tribes with representatives among the school children live together in friendly fashion, the groups of each tribe readily separate in order to play among themselves. A Religious Superior of the Filhas de Maria Auxiliadora (Salesian Sisters), with more than 25 years (103)

> 103. A similar statement was given by the Superior of the newly founded Salesian Mission of Assunção among the Arwake of the Içana, located in the place known as Carará-poço, in August of 1957, therefore after only five months of the functioning of the local girls' boarding school.

of residence among those tribes, informed us that there was always a girl with ascendancy over the rest, a true "tuxaua," whose orders the others obeyed promptly, although transgressing school regulations and the orders of the Irmãs Superioras /Superior Sisters/; and they brought to this classmate the gifts received. Such deference, however, did not seem to be the fruit of friendship, but of fear. The Indian girl, who hardly cries, did it when admonished

/467 cont./
797 by this companion, whose rebuke (104)
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> 104. Among the reciprocal insults, someone said: -- "You do not have a father," and another answered her: -- "Your mother is a thief."

she feared more than that of the Religious Superiors.

575 We have already mentioned the great sociability of these tribes, but nevertheless there do not seem to exist among the Uaupesinos secret Societies or more or less public ones of the various kinds that proliferate among the North American tribes, especially among the matriarchalists. The causes might be several: 1st, they ordinarily live in small human groups; whereas it is the large groupings that favor the subdivisions into smaller societies; 2nd, they live the common life of a maloca, each one being observed in all his acts; 3rd, the family life is quite autonomous, even when several families live in the same maloca, without partitions of any kind; 4th, the almost nonexistence of a taboo separating the men from the women.

562 1) We have an indication of a great separation of the sexes, and
796 of a society that gathers together few times and quickly today, in the feasts of Wĩx-tĩ. The men congregate for the phallic procession, as we have described (VII - 4, e (2 a 1) and the women remain outside the maloca, with the prohibition, under the penalty of death, against looking at the instrument.

• 623 2) We have noticed in the malocas and povoados the existence of a Senate, the Bũxkṍrákurá, which meets frequently, enjoying /468/ great ascendancy, imposing and demanding the observance of the ancestral customs, with the competence to choose the chief.

756 3) Another existing society, it seems, is that of the Xamãs /shamans/ or Pajés. The training process of the pajé always is attending the school of another pajé, even by class of student-xamãs. Even after graduating and in the exercise of their profession, they meet periodically, invited to resolve the most difficult